SIR

WALTER RAWLEIGH

HIS

APOLOGIE

For his voyage

To GUIANA:

By Sir Walter Rawleigh *Knight.*

LONDON,
Printed by T. W. for HUM: MOSELEY
and are to be sold at the Princes Armes in
St. Pauls Church-Yard 1650.

Coll. 8
9/17 34

Z3.65

Sir Walter Rawleigh *his Apologie.*

IF ill ſucceſſe of this Enterpriſe of mine had bin without Example, I ſhould have needed a large diſcourſe and many arguments for my Juſtification, But if the atempts of the greateſt Princes of *Europe*, both among themſelves and againſt the great Turk, are in all moderne Hiſtories left to every eye to peruſe. It is not ſo ſtrange that my ſelfe being but a private man,

and drawing after me the chaines and Fetters whereunto I have been thirteen yeares tyed in the Tower, being unpardoned and in disgrace with my Soveraigne Lord, have by other mens errours failed in the attempt I undertooke.

For if that *Charles* the Fifth returned with unexampled losse, I will not say dishonour, from *Algire* in *Africa*: If King *Sebastian* lost himselfe and his Army in *Barbary*: If the invincible Fleet and forces of *Spaine* in Eighty Eight were beaten home by the Lord *Charles Howard* Admirall of *England*: If Mr. *Strozzi* the Count *Brizack* the Count of *Vinnnoso* and others, with the Fleet of fifty eight sayle and six thousand Souldiers, encountered with far lesse numbers could not defend the *Terceres*. Leaving to speake of a world of other attempts furnished by Kings and Princes. If Sir *Francis Drake*, Sir *John Hawkins* and Sir *Thomas Baskervile*,

kervile men for their experience and valour as Eminent as *England* had any, ſtrengthned with divers of her Majeſties ſhips, and fild with Souldiers at will, could not poſſeſſe themſelves of the Treaſure they ſought for, which in their view was imbarked in certaine Frigotts at *Puerto Rico*, yet afterward they were repulſed with fifty Negroes upon the Mountains of *Vaſques Numius*, or *Sierra de Capira* in their paſſage towards *Panania*: If Sir *John Norris* (though not by any fault of his) failed in the attempts of *Lyſbone* and returned with the loſſe, by ſickneſſe and otherwiſe, of eight thouſand men. What wonder is it, but that mine (which is the laſt) being followed with a company of Voluntiers who for the moſt part had neither ſeen the Sea nor the Warres, who, ſome forty Gentlemen excepted, had we the very ſcumme of the World: Drunkards, Blaſphemers and ſuch others as their Fathers Bro-

thers and freinds thought it an exceeding good gaine to be diſcharged of them with the hazard of ſome thirty forty or fifty pounds, knowing they could not have liv'd a whole yeare ſo cheape at home: I ſay what wonder is it, if I have failed, where I could neither be preſent my ſelfe, nor had any of the Commanders (whom I moſt truſted) living, or in ſtate to ſupply my place?

Now, where it was bruted, both before my departure out of *England* and by the moſt men beleived, that I meant nothing leſſe then to go to *Guiana*: but that being once at liberty and in mine owne power, having made my way with ſome Forraigne Prince I would turne Pyratt and utterly forſake my Countrey. My being at *Guiana*, my returning into *England* unpardoned, and my not takeing the ſpoile of the Subj. of any Chriſtian Prince, hath (I doubt not) deſtroyed that Opinion.

But this is not all: for it hath been given

given out by an hypocritticall Theite who was the firſt Maſter of my ſhipp: And by an ungratefull Youth which waited upon me in my Cabbin, though of honourable worthy Parents: and by others: That I carryed with me out of *England* twenty two thouſand peices of twenty two ſhillings the peice, and thererefore needed not, or cared not to diſcover any Mine in *Guiana*, nor make any other attempt elſewhere: Which Report being carried ſecretly from one to an other in my ſhip, and ſo ſpread through all the ſhips in the Fleet which ſtaid with me at *Trenidado* while our Land-Forces were in *Guiana*, had like to have been my utter overthrow in a moſt miſerable faſhion; For it was conſulted when I had taken my Barge and gone a ſhoare (either to diſcover or otherwiſe as I often did) That my ſhip ſhould have ſet ſaile and left me there, where either I muſt have ſuffered Famine,

been eaten with wilde beasts, or have fallen into the hands of the *Spaniards* and been flayed alive as others of the *English*, which came thither but to trade only, had formerly been.

To this Report of Riches, I make this Protestation, That if it can be prooved, either now or hereafter, that I had in the world, either in my keeping or in my power, either directly or indirectly in trust or otherwise, above one hundred peices when I departed *London*, of which I had left forty five peices with my wife, and fifty five I carried with me: I acknowledge my selfe for a Reprobate, a Villaine, a Traitor to the King, and the most unworthy man that doth live, or ever hath liv'd upon the earth.

Now where the Captaines that left me in the *Indies*, and Captaine *Baily*, that ran away from me at *Cancerota*, have, to excuse themselves, objected for the first, *That I lingered at* Plimouth

mouth *when I might have gone thence, and loſt a faire Wind and time of the yeare, or to that effect.* It is ſtrange that men of faſhion and Gentlemen ſhould ſo groſly bely their owne knowledge: And that had not I lived nor returnd to have made anſwer to this Faction, yet all that know us in *Plimouth* and all that we had to deale withall knew the contrary. For after I had ſtayed at the Iſle of *Wight* divers daies; the *Thunder*, Commanded by Sir *Warram St. Leger* by the negligence of her Maſter, was at Lee in the *Thames*; and after I arrived at *Plimouth*, Captaine *Pennington* was not come then to the Iſle of *Wight*, and being arrived there, and not able to redeeme his Bread from the Bakers, he rode back to *LONDON* to intreat help from my wife to pay for it, who having not ſo much money to ſerve his turne, ſhe wrote to Mr. *Wood* of *Portſmouth* and gave him her word for thirty pounds, which ſhee ſoone

ſoone after payd him, without which (as *Pennington* himſelfe proteſted to my wife) he had not bin able to have gone the journey: Sir *John Ferne* I found there without all hope of being able to proceed, having nor men nor mony, and in great want of other proviſion, inſomuch as I furniſhed him by my Cozen *Herbert* with a hundred pounds, having ſupplied himſelfe in *Wales* with a hundred pounds before his coming to *Plimouth*: and procured him a third hundred pound from the worthy and honeſt Deane of *Exeter* Doctor *Sutcliffe*. Captaine *Whitney*, whome I alſo ſtayed for, had a third part of his victualls to provide, inſomuch as having no mony to help him withall I ſold my Plate in *Plimouth* to ſupply him. *Baily* I left at the *Iſle of Wight*, whoſe arrivall I alſo attended here ſome ten or twelve daies as I remember, and what ſhould move *Baily* only to leave me as he did at the *Canaries*

ries, from whence he might have departed with my love and leave, and at his returne to do me all the wrong he could deviſe, I cannot conceive; he ſeemed to me from the begining not to want any thing, he only deſired of me ſome Ordnance and ſome iron-bound Caske, and I gave it him; I never gave him ill language nor offered him the leaſt unkindneſſe to my knowledge: It is true, that I refuſed him a French Shallop which he tooke in the Bay of *Portingall* outward bound, and yet after I had bought her of the French, and paid fifty Crownes ready mony for her if *Baily* had then deſired her he might have had her; But to take any thing from the *French*, or from any other nation, I meant it not.

True it is, that as many things ſucceeded both againſt Reaſon and our beſt endeavours; So it is moſt commonly true, that men are the cauſe of their owne miſery, as I was of mine, when I undertooke

undertooke my late enterprise without a pardon for all my Company, having heard it avowed in *England* before they went, that the Commission I had, was granted to a man who was *Non Ens* in law, so hath the want thereof taken from me both Armes and Actions: Which gives boldnesse to every petty Companion to spread Rumours to my Defamation and the wounding of my Reputation, in all places where I cannot be present to make them Knaves and Lyars.

It hath been secondly objected, *That I put into* Ireland *and spent much time there, taking care to Revictuall my selfe and none of the rest.*

Certainly I had no purpose to see *Ireland* when I left *Plimouth*, but being encountered with a strong Storme some eight Leagues to the Westward of *Scilly*, in which Captaine *Chudleyes* Pinace was suncke, and Captaine *King* thrust into *Bristoll*: I held it the Office

fice of a Commander of many ſhips, and thoſe of divers Saylings and conditions, of which ſome could Hull and Trye, and ſome of them beat it up upon a Tack, and others neither able to doe the one nor the other, rather to take a Port and keep his Fleete together, then either to endanger the loſſe of Maſts and Yardes; or to have it ſevered farre aſunder, and to be thruſt into divers places. For the attendance of meeting them againe at the next Randezvous, would conſume more Time and Victuall, and perchance the weake ſhips might be ſet upon, taken, or diſordered, then could be ſpent by recovering a Harbour, and attending the next change of wind.

That the diſſevering of Fleets hath beene the overthrow of many Actions, I could give many Examples, were it not in every mans Knowledge. In the laſt Enterprize of worth

worth, undertaken by our *Engliſh* Nation with three Squadrons of ſhips, Commanded by the Earle of *Eſſex*, the Earle of *Suffolke* and my ſelfe, where was alſo preſent the Earle of *Southampton*, If we being ſtorme-beaten in the Bay of *Alcaſhar* or *Biſcaye* had had a Port under our Lee, that we might have kept our Tranſporting ſhips with our men of War, we had in all likelihood both taken the *Indian* Fleet and the *Aſores*.

That we ſtaid long in *Ireland* it is true, but they muſt accuſe the Clouds and not me, for our ſtay there; for I loſt not a day of a good Wind: and there was not any Captaine of the Fleet but had Credit or might have had for a great deale of more victualls then we ſpent there, and yet they had of me fifty Beeves among them and ſomewhat elſe.

For the third Accuſation, *That I landed in Hoſtile maner at* Lancerota; Certainly

Certainly Captaine *Baily* had greate want of matter when he gave that for an excuſe of his turning back, for I referr my ſelfe to Mr. *Barney*, who I know will ever juſtifie a truth, to whom (when he came to me from Captaine *Baily* to know whether he ſhould land his men with the reſt) I made this anſwer, that he might land them if it pleaſed him, or otherwiſe keepe them aboard, for I had agreed with the Governor for a proportion of victuall which I hourely expected: And it is true, that the Governor being deſirous for to ſpeake with me with one Gentleman with him with their Rapiers only, which I accepting, and taking with me Leivetenant *Bradſhaw*, we agreed: that I ſhould ſend up an *Engliſh* Factor (whoſe ſhip did then ride in the Roade) and that whatſoever the Iſland could yeeld ſhould be delivered at a reaſonable rate; I ſent the Engliſh Factor according to our agreement,

ment, but the Governour put it off from one morning to an other, and in the end ſent me word, that except I would imbarque my men which lay on the Sea ſide, *Slanders* were ſo jealous as they durſt not ſever themſelves to make our Proviſions: I did ſo, but when the one halfe were gotten aboard two of our Centinells forct, one ſlaine and the Engliſh Factor ſent to tell mee that he had nothing for us, whom he ſtill believed to be a Fleet of the Turks, who had lately taken and deſtroyed *Puerto Santto*. Hereupon all the Companies would have marched toward the Towne and have ſackt it, but I knew it would not only diſlike His Majeſty; But that our Merchants having a continuall trade with thoſe Iſlands, that their Goods would have bin ſtayed, and amongſt the reſt, the poor Engliſh man riding in the Road having all that he brought thither aſhore, would have been utterly undone.

Hereof

Hereof I complained to the Governour of the Grand *Canaries*, whom I alſo deſired that we might take water without any diſturbance, but inſtead of anſwer, when we landed ſome hundred men, far from any habitation, and in a Deſart place of the Iſland, where we found ſome freſh water, there Ambuſh was layd, and one *Fiſher* of Sir *John Fernes* ſhip wounded to death, and more had been ſlain had not Captaine *Thornhurſt* and Maſter *Robert Hayman* my ſonnes Lievtenant, two exceeding valiant Gentlemen, who firſt made head againſt them, ſeconded by Sir *Warham Sentleger* and my Sonne with halfe a dozen more, made forty of them runne away. From hence becauſe there was ſcarcity of water, we ſayled to *Gomarrah*, one of the ſtrongeſt and well defenced places of all the Iſlands and the beſt Port: The Towne being ſeated upon the very Waſh of the Sea, at the firſt entrance

of our ſhips, they ſhot at us, and ours at them, but as ſoone as I my ſelfe recovered the Harbour, and had commanded that there ſhould be no more ſhooting, I ſent a Spaniard a ſhore (taken in a Barque which came from *Cape Blanke*) to tell the Governour that I had no purpoſe to make warr with any of the Spaniſh Kings Subjects, and if any harme were done by our great Ordnance to the Towne, it was his fault, which by ſhooting firſt gave the occaſion. He ſent me for anſwer that he thought we had beene the Turkiſh Fleet, which deſtroyed *Puerto Santo*, but being reſolved by the Meſſenger that we were Chriſtians and Engliſh, and ſought nothing but water, he would willingly afford us as much as we pleaſed to take, if he might be aſſured that we would not attempt his Towne-Houſes, nor deſtroy the Gardens and fruits; I returned him anſwer that I would give him my Faith, and the

the word of the King of Great Brittaigne my Soveraigne Lord, that the People of the Town and Iſland ſhould not looſe ſo much as one Orange or a Grape without paying for it, I would hang him up in the Market-ſtreet. Now that I kept my Faith with him, and how much he held himſelfe bound unto me: I have divers of his Letters to ſhew, for he wrote unto me every day And the Counteſſe being of an engliſh Race a *Stafford* by Mother, and of the houſe of *Horn* by the Father, ſent me divers preſents of fruits, Sugar, and Ruske: to whom I returned (becauſe I would not depart in her debt) things of greater value; The old Earle at my departure wrot a Letter to the Spaniſh *Ambaſſador* here in *England* how I had behaved my ſelfe in thoſe Iſlands. There I diſcharg'd a Barke of the grand *Canaries* taken by one of my Pinnaces coming from *Cape-Blank* in *Africa*, and demanding of him what prejudice

he had recieved by being taken, he told me that my men had eaten of his fish to the value of sixe Duckets, for which I gave him eight.

From the *Canaries*, it is said *That I sayled to* Cape de Verte *knowing it to be an infectious place, by reason whereof I lost so many of my men ere I recovered the* Indies; The truth is that I came no neerer to *Cape de Vert* then *Bravo*, which is one hundred and sixty Leagues off; But had I taken it in my way, falling upon the Coast or any other part of *Guiana*, after the Raines, there is as little danger of infection as in any other part of the World, as our English that trade in those parts every yeare doe well know; There are few places in *England* or in the world neere great Rivers which run through low grounds or neare Moorish or Marsh grounds, but the People inhabiting neare, are at some time of the yeare subject to Feavers, witnes *Woollwich* in *Kent* and all downe

down the Rivers on both sides, other Infection there is not found either in the *Indies* or in *Affrica*, except it be when the Easterly wind or Breefes are kept off by some High Mountraines from the Vallies, wherby the ayre wanting motion doth become exceeding unhealthfull as at *Nomber de Dios* and elsewhere. But as good successe admitts no Examination, so the contrary allows of no excuse, how reasonable or just soever. Sir *Francis Drake*, Mr. *John Winter* and *John Tomas*, when they past the Streights of *Malegan*, meeting with a storme which drove *Winter* back, which thrust *John Thomas* upon the Islands to the South where he was cast away, and Sir *Francis* nere a small Island upon which the *Spaniards* landed their cheins & murderers, from *Baldivia*, and he found there *Phillip* an Indian who told him where he was and conducted him to *Baldivia*, wher he took his first prize of Treasure,

and in that ſhip he found a Pylot called *John Grege* who guided him all that Coaſt, in which he poſſeſt himſelfe of the reſt, which Pylot becauſe he ſhould not rob him of his Reputation and knowledge in thoſe parts (deſiſting the intreaties and teares of all his Company) he ſet him a ſhore upon the Iſland of *Altegulors* to be by them devoured. After which paſſing by the *Eaſt-Indies*, he returned into *England*, and notwithſtanding the peace between Us and *Spaine*, he enjoyed the Riches he brought, and was never ſo much as called to accompt for cutting off *Douly* his head at *Porte St. Julian* having neither Marſhall Law nor other Commiſſion availeable. Mr. *Candiſh* having paſt all the Coaſts of *Chyle* and *Peru*, and not gotten a farthing, when he was without hope, and redy to ſhape his courſe by the Eaſt homewards, met a ſhip which came from the *Phillippines* at *Caleſtorvia*, a

thouſand

thousand pounds to a Nutshell. These two in these two Voyages were the Children of Fortune, and much honored; But when Sir *Francis Drake* in his last attempt might have landed at *Cruces*, by the river of *Chyagre* within eight miles of *Panama*, he notwithstanding set the Troups on land at *Nomber de Dios* and received the repulse aforesaid, he dyed for sorrow. The same successe had *Candish* in his last Passage towards the Streights. I say that one and the same end they both had, to wit *Drake* and *Candish*, when Chance had left them to the tryall of their owne Vertues.

For the rest I leave to all worthy and indifferent men to judge, by what neglect or errour of mine, the Gold Mine in *Guiana* which I had formerly discovered was not found and enjoyed, for after we had refreshed our selves in *Galleana*, otherwise in the first discovery called *Poet Howard*, where we tarri-

ed Captaine *Haſtins*, Captaine *Pigott*, and Captaine *Snedall*, and there recovered the moſt part of our ſicke men. I did Imbarque ſixe Companies of fifty to each Company in five ſhipps, to wit, the *Encounter*, Commanded by Captaine *Whitney*, in the *Confidence* by Captaine *Woollaſtone*, into two Flyboats of my owne, Commanded by Captaine *Samuell King*, and Captaine *Robert Smith*, In a Carvill which Companies had for their Leaders Captaine *Charles Parker*, Captaine *North*, My Sonne, Captaine *Thornhurſt*, Captaine *Penjuglous* Lievtenant, and Captaine *Chudlyes* Lievtenant *Prideux*.

At the Tryangle Iſlands I imbarked the companies for *Orrenoque* between which and *Calliana* I lay a ground twenty four houres, and if it had not been faire weather we had never come

off

off the Coaſt, having not above two Fathome and a halfe of water: Eight Leagues off from whence, I directed them for the River of *Surniama*, the beſt part of all that Tract of land between the river *Amazones* and *Orrenoque*, there I gave them order to trim their Boates and Barges; and by the Indians of that place to underſtand the ſtate of the *Spaniards* in *Orrenoque*, and whither they had replanted or ſtrengthened themſelves upon the entrances or elſewhere; and if they found any Indians there, to ſend in the little flyboate or the Carvill into the river of *Diſſebecke*, where they ſhould not faile to find Pilots for *Orrenoque*, for with our great ſhips we durſt not aproach the Coaſt we having been all of us a ground, and in danger of leaving our Bands upon the ſhoules before wee recovered the Tryangle Iſlands as aforeſaid; The Biggeſt Shipp that could Enter the River was the *Encounter*, who

who might be brought to eleven foote water upon the Bar. we could never understand neither by *Keymis*, who was the first of any Nation that had entered the maine mouth of *Orrenoque* nor by any of the Masters or Marriners of our Fleet, which had traded there ten or twelve yeares for Tobaccho: For the *Chudley* when she came nere the Entrance, drawing but twelve foote, found her selfe in danger and bore up for *Trinidado*.

Now whereas some of my friends have been unsatisfied why I my selfe had not gone up with the Companies I sent, I desire hereby to give them satisfaction, that besides my want of health and strength, and having not recovered my long and dangerous sicknesse, but was againe fallen into a Relapse, my ship Stoalde and layd a ground at seaventeene foote water, 7 Leagues of the shore, so as the Mr. nor any of my company durst adventure

ture to come neare it, much leſſe to fall between the ſhoules on the ſouth ſide of the Rivers ſide, and ſands on the North ſide called *Puncto Anegado*, one of the moſt dangerous places in all the *Indies*: It was therefore reſolved by us all, that the five greater ſhips ſhould ride at *Puncto Gallo* in *Trinidado*, and the five leſſer ſhould enter the River, For it *Whitney* and *Woollaſton* at eleven foote lay a ground three daies in paſſing up, in what caſe had I been which drew ſeaventeene foote, a heavier ſhip and charged with forty pieces of Ordnance, beſides this impoſſibility, neither would my Sonn nor the reſt of the Captaines and Gentlemen have adventured themſelves the River (having but one moneths Victualls and being thruſt together a hundred of them in a ſmale Flyboate) had not I aſſured them that I would ſtay for them at *Trinidado*, and that no Force ſhould drive me thence, except I were ſuncke

in the Sea or ſet on Fire by the Spaniſh Gallions, for that they would have adventured themſelves upon any other mans word or reſolution, it were ridiculous to beleive.

Having in this ſort reſolved upon our enterpriſe, and having given inſtructions, how they ſhould proceede before and after their entrance into *Orrenoque*, *Keymis* having undertaken to diſcover the Myne with ſix or eight perſons in Sir *John Fernes* Shallop, I better berhinking my ſelfe and miſliking his determination gave him this order, *viz.*

Keymis, whereas you were reſolved after your arrivall into *Orrenoque* to paſſe to the Myne with my Couſen *Harbert* and ſix musketteers, and to that end you deſired to have Sir *John Fernes* ſhallop, I doe not allow of that courſe, becauſe you cannot Land ſo ſecretly but that ſome Indians on the River ſide may diſcover you, who giving knowledge

knowledge of your passage to the Spaniards you may be cut off before you can recover your Boate, I doe therefore advise you to suffer the Captaines and the Companies of the English to passe up to the Westwards of the mountaine *Aio*, from whence you have no lesse then three miles to the Myne, and to lodge and encampe between the Spanish Towne and you, if there be any Town neer it, that being so secured you may make tryall what depth and bredth the Myne holds, and whether or no it answer our hopes. And if you find it Royall, and the Spaniards begin to Warre upon you, then let the Serjeant Major repell them if it be in his power, and drive them as far as he can.

But if you find that the Myne be not so rich as it may perswade the holding of it, and draw on a second supply, then shall you bring but a basket or two to satisfy his Majesty, that my designe was not Imaginatory but true, though

though not answerable to his Majesties expectation, for the quantity of which I never gave assurance, nor could.

On the other side, if you shall find that any great number of Souldiers be newly sent into *Orrenoque*, as the *Cassique* of *Caliana* told us that there were, and that the Passages be already Forc'd so that without manifest Perill of my sonne, your selfe, and other Captaines, you cannot passe toward the Myne, then be well advised how you land, for I know (that a few Gentlemen excepted) what a Scumme of men you have, and I would not for all the world receive a blow from the Spaniards to the dishonour of our Nation; I my selfe for my weaknes cannot be present, neither will the Company land, except I stay with the ships, the Gallioones of *Spaine* being daily expected. *Pigott* the Sergeant-Major is dead. Sir *Warrham* my Leiftenant, without hope of life,

and

and my Nephew your Sergeant-Major no w but a young man: It is therefore no your judgement that I Rely whom I truſt God will direct for the beſt.

Let me heare from you as ſoone as you can, you ſhall find me at *Punto Gallo* dead or alive, and if you finde not my ſhips there, yet you ſhall find their Aſhes; For I will fire with the Gallioones if it come to extreamity, But runne away I will never.

That theſe my Inſtructions were not followed, was not my fault, But it ſeemes that the Sergeant-Major, *Keymis* and the reſt were by accident forced to change their firſt reſolution, and that finding a Spaniſh towne or rather a village, ſet up twenty mile diſtant from the place where *Antonio Berro* the firſt Governour by me taken in my firſt diſcovery who had attempted to plant to meet ſome two Leagues to the Weſtward of the Mine: They agreed to land and encamp between the Mine

Myne and the Towne, which they did not ſuſpect to be ſo neer them as it was, and meaning to reſt themſelves on the Rivers ſide till the next day, they were in the night ſet upon and charged by the Spaniards, which being unlooked for, the Common ſort of them were ſo amazed, as had not the Captaines and ſome other valiant Gentlemen made a Head and encouraged the reſt, they had all been broken and cut in pieces. To repell this force putting themſelves in order, they charged the Spaniards, and following them upon their retreat they were ready to enter the Town, ere they knew where they were, and being then charged againe by the Governour, and foure or five Captaines which lead their Companies; My Sonne not tarrying for my Musketiers run up in the head of a company of Pikes, where he was firſt ſhot, and preſſing upon a Spaniſh Captaine called *Erinetta* with his ſword;

ſword; *Erinetta* taking the ſmall end of his Muſket in his hand ſtrucke him on the head with the ſtock and feld him, whom againe *John Pleſington*, my Sonnes Serjeant, thruſt through with his Halbert, at which time alſo the Governour *Diego Palmeque* and the reſt of the Spaniſh Captaines being ſlaine, and their Companies divided, they betooke themſelves into a houſe, or hold adjoyning to the market place, where they ſlew and wounded the Engliſh at their pleaſure, ſo as we had no way to ſave our ſelves; but by firing thoſe houſes adjoyning, which done all the Spaniards ran into the bordering Woods, and Hills, keeping the Engliſh ſtill waking with perpetuall Alarums.

The town ſuch as it was being in this ſort poſſeſt. *Keymis* prepared to diſcover the Myne, which at this time he was reſolved to doe, as appeareth by his Letter to me of his owne hand writing

hereafter inſerted; he tooke with him Captaine *Thornhurſt*, Maſter *William Herbert*, Sir *John Hambden*, and others, but at his firſt approach neer the banke where he meant to Land, he received from the wood a vollew of ſhot which ſlew two of his Company, hurt ſix others, and wounded Captaine *Thornhurſt* in the head, of the which he languiſhed three months after.

Keymis his LETTER Dated the eight of *January* from *Orrenoque*.

ALL things that appertaine to humane condition in that proper nature and ſence, that of fate and neceſſity belongeth unto them, maketh me chooſe rather with griefe to let you know from me this certaine truth then uncertainties from others; which is, viz. *That had not*

not this extraordinary valour and forwardneſſe, which with the conſtant vigour of mind being in the hands of death his laſt breath expreſſed theſe words. (Lord have mercy upon me and proſper your enterpriſe) *leade them all on, when ſome began to pauſe and recoyle ſhamefully: this action had neither been attempted as it was, nor performed as it is with his ſurviving honour.*

This Indian Pilot whom I have ſent, if there be occaſion to uſe his ſervice in any thing will prove ſufficient and truſty: Peter Andrewes *whom I have ſent with him can better certify your Lordſhip of the ſtate of the towne, the plenty, the condition of our men,* &c. *then I can write the ſame.*

We have the Gouernours ſervant Priſoner that waited on him in his Bedchamber, and knows all things that concerned his Maſter. We find there are foure Refiners Houſes in the towne; the beſt Houſes of the towne. I have not ſeen

one piece of Coyne, or Bullyon, neither Gold or Silver; a ſmall deale of Plate only excepted.

Captain Whitney *and* Woollaſtone *are but now come to us, and now I purpoſe (Godwilling) without delay to viſit the Myne, which is not eight miles from the towne, ſooner I could not goe by reaſon of the murmurings, the diſcords and vexations, wherewith the Serjeant Major is perpetually tormented and tyred, having no man to aſſiſt him but my ſelfe only, things are now in ſome reaſonable order, and ſo ſoone as I have made tryall of the Myne, I will ſeeke to come to your Lordſhip, by the way of the River. To goe and to ſearch the Channels (that if it be poſſible) our Ships may ſhorten their courſe for* Trinidado, *when time ſerves, by thoſe paſſages; I have ſent your Lordſhip a parcell of ſcattered papers (I reſerve a Carte Loade) one roule of Tobacco, one Tortoyſe, and ſome Oranges and Limmons, praying God to give you ſtrength and health of bo-*

dy,

dy, and a mind armed against all extreamities. I reſt ever to be commanded this 8. *of* January, 1617.

Your Lordſhips
KEYMIS.

Now it ſeemes that the death of my Son, fearing alſo (as he told me when he came to *Trinidado*) that I was either dead of my firſt ſickneſſe, or that the news of my Sonnes death would have haſtened my end, made him reſolve not to open the Myne, to the which he added for excuſe, and I thinke it was true, that the Spaniards being gone off in a whole body, lay in the Woods betweene the Myne and their paſſage, that it was impoſſible, except they had bin beaten out of the Country, to paſſe up the Woody and Craggy Hills without the loſſe of thoſe Commanders which ſhould have lead them, who had they been ſlaine, the reſt, would eaſily enough have bin cut in

pieces in their retreate; for being in possession of the towne, which they guarded with the greatest part of three Companies, they had yet their handfull to defend themselves from fireing, and the daily and nightly Alarums, wherewith they were vexed. He also gave forth the excuse that it was impossible to lodge any Companies at the Myne, for want of Victuall, which from the towne they were not able to carry up the mountaine their Companies being divided; He therefore as he told me thought it a greater error to discover it to the Spaniards, themselves neither being able to worke it, nor possesse it then to excuse himselfe to the Company, said that he could not find it; all which his fancies when I received, and before divers of the Gentlemen disavowed his ignorance, for I told him That a blind man might find it, by the marks which himself had set down under his hand, and that I told him that his

care

care of looſing ſo many men in paſſing through the Woods, was but fained, for after my Sonne was ſlaine, I knew that he had no care at all of any man ſurviving, and therefore had he brought to the King but one hundred weight of the oare though with the loſſe of one hundred men, He had given his Majeſty ſatisfaction, preſerved my reputation, and given our Nation encouragement to have returned this next yeare, with greater force and to have held the Country for his Majeſty to whom it belonged, and of which himſelfe had given the teſtimony, that beſides the excellent ayre, pleaſantneſſe, healthfulneſſe, and riches: it hath plenty of Corne, Fruits, Fiſh, Fowle, wild and tame, Beeves, Horſes, Sheepe, Hogs, Deeres, Coneys, Hares, Tortoyſes, Armadiles, Wanaes, Oyles, Hony, Wax, Potatoes, Suger Canes, Medicaments, Balſamum, Simples, Gums, and what not; but ſeeing he had followed his

owne advice, and not mine, I ſhould be forced to leave him arguments with the which if he could ſatisfy his Majeſty, and the State, I ſhould be glad of it, though for my part he muſt excuſe me to juſtify it, that he, if it had pleaſed him, though with ſome loſſe of men might have gone directly to the place: with that he ſeemed greatly diſcontent, and ſo he continued divers dayes; afterward he came to me in my Cabbin, and ſhewed me a Letter which he had written to the Earl of *Arundell*, to whom he excuſed himſelf, for not diſcovering of the Myne: uſing the ſame arguments, and many others which he had done before, and prayed me to allow of his Apology; but I told him that he had undone me by his obſtinacy, and that I would not favour or collour in any ſort his former folly. He then asked me, whether that were my reſolution, I anſwered, that it was: he then replyed in theſe words, I know

not

not then Sir what course to take; and went out of my Gabbin into his own, in which he was no sooner entred, but I heard a Pistoll goe off. I sent up (not suspecting any such thing as the killing of himselfe) to know who shot a Pistoll, *Keymis* himself made answer lying on his Bed, that he had shot it off, because it had been long charged, with which I was satisfied; some half houre after this, the Boy going into his Cabbin, found him dead, having a long knife thrust under his left pap through his heart, and his Pistoll lying by him, with which it appeared that he had shot himselfe, but the Bullet lighting upon a rib, had but broken the rib and went no further. Now he that knew *Keymis*, did also know that he was of that obstinate resolution, and a man so far from caring to please or satisfie any man but my selfe, as no mans opinion from the greatest to the least could have perswaded him to have laid violent

lent hands on himſelfe, neither would he have done it, when he did it, could he have ſaid unto me, that he was ignorant of the Place, and knew no ſuch Myne; for what cauſe had I then to to have rejected his excuſes, or to have laid his obſtinacy to his charge; thus much I have added, becauſe there are ſome Puppies which have given it out, that *Keymis* ſlew himſelfe becauſe he had ſeduced ſo many Gentlemen and others with an imaginary Myne; but as his Letter to me the 8. of *January* proves that he was then reſolved to open it, and to take off all theſe kinds of objections; Let Captaine *Charls Parker*, Captaine *George Ralegh* and Captaine *King* all living and in *England*; be put to their oaths whether or no *Keymis* did not confeſſe to them comming down the River, at a place where they caſt anker, that he could from that place have gone to the Myne in two hours, I ſay then that if the opening

of

of the Myne had bin at that time to any purpoſe; or had they had had any victualls left then, to bring them away, or had they not been haſtned by ſeeing the King of *Spaines* Letters before they came to my hands, which I am aſſured *Keymis* had ſeene who delivered them to me, whereof one of them was dated at *Madrill* the 17 of *March* before I left the River of *Thames*, and with it, three other diſpatches with a Commiſſion for the ſtrengthning of *Orrenoque* with 150 Souldiers, which ſhould have come downe the River from the new Kingdome of *Granada*; and one other 150 from *Puerto Rico* with ten pieces of Ordnance which ſhould have come up the River from the entrance, by which two Troupes they might have bin incloſed, I ſay had not the reſt ſeene thoſe diſpatches; and that having ſtayed in the River above two months, they feared the hourely arrivall of thoſe forces, why had they not

not constrained *Keymis* to have brought them to the Myne, being as himselfe confesses within two houres march. Againe, had the Companies Commanders but pincht the Governours man whom they had in their possession, he could have told them of two or three Gold Mynes and a Silver Myne not above foure miles from the Towne, and given them the names of their possessors; with the reason why they forbare to worke them at that time, and when they left off from working them, which they did aswell because they wanted Negroes, as because they feared least the English, French, or Dutch would have forced them from those being once thoroughly opened, having not sufficient strength to defend themselves; But to this, I have heard it said since my returne, that the Governours man was by me perswaded, being in my power, to say that such Mynes there were, when indeed there was no such thing

thing, Certainly they were but ſilly fooles, that diſcovered this ſubtilty of Mine, who having not yet by the long Calenture that weakened me, loſt all my wits which I muſt have done, if I had left my reputation in truſt with a *Malato*, who for a pot or two of Wine, for a dozen of Hatchets, or a gay ſuite of apparell would have confeſſed, that I had taught him to ſpeake of Mynes, that were not in *Rerum natura*, No I proteſt before the Majeſty of God, that without any other agreements or promiſes of mine, then well uſage, he hath diſcovered to me, the way to five or ſixe of the richeſt Mynes which the Spaniards have, and from whence, all the Maſſe of Gold that comes into *Spaine* in effect is drawne.

Laſtly, when the Ships were come downe the River as farre as *Carapana's* Country (who was one of the naturall Lords) and one that reſerved that part of *Guiana* to her Maje. hearing that the Engliſh

Engliſh had abandoned St. *Thome*, and left no force in the Country, which he hoped they would have done, hee ſent a great Canooe with ſtore of fruits and Proviſions to the Captains, and by one of his men which ſpake Spaniſh, having as it ſeemed bin long in their hands; hee offered them a rich Gold Myne in his own Country, knowing it to be the beſt argument to perſwade their ſtay, and if it pleaſe them to ſend up any one of the Engliſh to view it, he would leave ſufficient pledges for his ſafe returne. Maſter *Leake*, Maſter *Moleneux* and others offering themſelves, which when the greater part refuſed (I know not by what reaſon lead) he ſent againe, leaving one of his men ſtill aboard to entreate them to tarry but two dayes, and he himſelfe would come to them, and bring them a ſample of the oare: for he was an exceeding old man, when I was firſt in the Country ſome twenty foure yeares ſince, which

which being alſo neglected, and the Ships under ſaile; he notwithſtanding ſent a Boat after them to the very mouth of the River in hope to perſwade them: that this is true, witneſſe Captaine *Parker*, Captaine *Leake*, Maſter *Streſham*, Maſter *Maudiſt*, Maſter *Moleneux*, Maſter *Robert Hamon*, Maſter *Nicholes*, Captaine *King*, *Peter Andrews*, and I know not how many others; but beſides his offer alſo, there hath not been wanting an argument though a fooliſh one; which was that the Spaniards, had employed the Indians with a purpoſe to betray our men, but this treaſon had been eaſily prevented, if they had ſtayed the old mans comming; who would have brought them the Gold oare aboarde their Ships, and what purpoſe could there be of treaſon when the Guianians offered to leave pledges ſix for one, yea one of the Indians which the Engliſh had aboarde them, whom they found

found in fetters when they tooke the towne of St. *Thome* could have told them, that the Caſſique which ſent unto them to ſhew them the Gold Myne in his Country, was unconquered; and are enemies to the Spaniard, and could alſo have aſſured them, that this Caſſique had Gold Mynes in his Country.

I ſay then, that if they would neither force *Keymis* to goe to the Myne, when he was by his owne confeſſion, within two houres march of it; to examine from whence theſe two Ingots of Gold which they brought me, were taken, which they found laid by for Kings *quinto* or fifth part; or thoſe ſmall pieces of Silver, which had the ſame marks and ſtamps; if they refuſed to ſend any one of the Fleete into the Country to ſee the Mynes which the Caſſique *Carapana* offered them; if they would not vouchſafe to ſtay two days for the comming of

of *Carapana* himſelfe, who would have brought them a ſample of the Gold oare, I ſay, that, there is no reaſon to lay it to my charge, that I carryed them with a pretence of Gold, when neither *Keymis* nor my ſelfe knew of any in thoſe parts: if it had bin to have gotten my liberty, why did I not keep my liberty when I had it, Nay why did I put my life in manifeſt peril to forgo it? if I had had a purpoſe to have turned Pyrate, why did I oppoſe my ſelf againſt the greateſt number of my Company, and was there by in danger to be ſlaine or caſt into the Sea becauſe I refuſed it?

A ſtrange fancy had it been in me to have perſwaded my Sonne whom I have loſt, and to have perſwaded my Wife to have adventured the 8000.l. which his Majeſty gave them for *Sherborne*, and when that was ſpent, to perſwade my Wife to ſell her houſe at *Micham*, in hope of inriching them by

the Mynes of *Guiana*; if I my ſelf had not ſeene them with my owne eyes; for being old and weakely, thirty years in priſon, and not uſed to the ayre to travell and to watching, it being ten to one that I ſhould ever have returned, and to which by reaſon of my violent ſickneſſe, and the long continuance thereof, no man had any hope, what madneſſe could have made me undertake this journey but the aſſurance of the Myne, thereby to have done his Majeſtie ſervice, to have bettered my Country by the trade, and to have reſtored my Wife and Children their Srates; they had loſt for that, I have refuſed all orher ways or means, for that I had a purpoſe to have changed my Maſter, and my Country, my returne in the ſtate I did returne may ſatisfie every honeſt and indifferent man.

An unfortunate man I am, and it is to me a greater loſſe then all I have loſt,

loſt, that it pleaſeth his Majeſtie to be offended for the burning of a Spaniſh towne in *Guiana*; of which theſe parts bordering the River *Orrenoque*; and to the South as farre as the Amazones doth by the Law of Narions belong to the Crowne of *England*, as his Majeſtie was well reſolved when I prepared to goe thither, otherwiſe his Majeſty would not have given once leave to have landed there; for I ſet it downe under my hand that I intended that enterpriſe and nothing elſe, and that I meant to enter the Country by the River of *Orrenoque*; It was not held to be a breach of peace neither by the State here nor the Spaniſh Ambaſſadour who knew it aſwell as I, that I pretended the journy of *Guiana* which he alwaies held to be a pretence; for he ſaid it to Maſter Secretary *Windode* and to others of my Lords; that if I meant to ſayle to *Guiana*, and had no intent to invade any part of his Majeſties

Weſt Indies nor his Fleets, I ſhould not need to ſtrengthen my ſelfe as I did, for I ſhould worke any Myne there, without any diſturbance and in peace, to which I made anſwer, that I had ſet it under my hand to his Majeſt. that I had no other purpoſe, nor meant to undertake any thing elſe; but for the reſt, that Sir *John Haukins* in his journey, to St. *John de Loa*, notwithſtanding that he had leave of the Spaniſh King to trade in all parts of the Weſt Indies, and having the Plate Fleete in his power, did not take out of it one ounce of Silver, but kept his faith and promiſe in all places, was ſet upon by *Don Henrico de Martines* whom he ſuffered (to ſave him from periſhing) to enter the Porte; upon *Martins* faith, and enterchanged pledges delivered, he had *Jeſus* of *Lubeck* a Ship of her Majeſties of a 1000 tun burnt; had his men ſlain which hee left on the Land; loſt his Ordnance, and all the treaſure which he

he had got by Trade; what reaſon had I to goe unarmed upon the Ambaſſadours promiſes, whoſe words and thoughts that they were one, it hath wel appeared ſince then, aſwell by the forces which he perſwaded his Maſter to ſend to *Guiana* to encounter me, and cut me off there; as by his perſecuting of me ſince my returne; who have neither invaded his Maſters Indies, nor his Fleet, whereof he ſtood in doubt.

True it is, that the Spaniards cannot endure that the Engliſh Nation ſhould looke upon any part of *America*, being above a fourth part of the whole knowne world; and the hundred part neither poſſeſſed by the Spaniards, nor to them knowne, as *Acoſta* the Jeſuit in his deſcription of the Weſt Indies doth confeſſe, and well know to be true: No though the King of *Spaine* can pretend no other title to all that he hath not conquered, then the Popes donation; for from the

ſtraits of *Megellan* to the river of *Plate*, being a greater territory then all that the Spaniards poſſeſſe in *Peru* or *Chile*, and from *Cape* St. *Auguſtines* to *Trinidado* being a greater extent of Land then all which he poſſeſſes in *Nova Spaine*, or elſewhere, they have not one foote of ground in their poſſeſſion, neither for the greateſt part of it ſo much as in their owne knowledge.

In *Orrenoque* they have lately ſet up a Wooden Towne, and made a kind of a Forte, but they have never been able either to Conquer the Guianians; nor to reconcile them, but the Guianians before their planting, they did willingly reſigne all that territory to her Majeſty, who by me promiſed to receive them, and defend them againſt the Spaniards; and though I were a Priſoner for this laſt fourteene years, yet I was at the charge every yeare, or every ſecond yeare, to ſend unto them to keepe them in hope of being relie-

ved.

ved. And as I have ſaid before the greateſt of the naturall Lords, did offer us a rich Myne of Gold in his owne Country in hope to hold us there; And if this uſurped poſſeſſion of the Spaniards be a ſufficient bar to his Majeſties right; and that thereby the King of *Spaine* calls himſelfe King of *Guiana*, why might he not aſwell call himſelfe Duke of *Brittaine*, becauſe hee tooke poſſeſſion of *Blewett*, and built a Forte there; and calls himſelfe King of *Ireland*; becauſe he tooke poſſeſſion at *Smerike* and built a Forte there.

If the Ambaſſadour had proteſted to his Majeſty that my going to *Guiana* before I went would be a breach to the peace, I am perſwaded that his Majeſty if he had not bin reſolved that *Guiana* had been his would have ſtayed me, but if it be not thought to be a breach of Peace not for the going thither (for that cannot be) becauſe I had no other intent, and went with leave;

but for taking and burning of a Spaniſh towne in the Country, certainly, if the Country be the King of *Spains*, it had been no leſſe a breach of Peace to have wrought any Myne of his, and to have rob'd him of his Gold; then it is now cald'd a breach of peace to take a towne of his in *Guiana* and burne it, and with as good reaſon might I have bin called a thiefe and a robber of the King of *Spaine*, if the Country be not his Majeſties, as I am now purſued for the Invaſion; for either the Country is the King of *Spains* or not the Kings; if it be the Kings, I have not then offended; if it be not the Kings, I muſt have periſhed, if I had but taken Gold out of the Mynes there, though I had found no Spaniards in the Country.

For concluſion, if we had had any peace with the Spaniards in thoſe parts of the world; why did even thoſe Spaniards, which were now encountered in

in *Guiana*, tye six and thirty English men out of Master *Walls* Ship of *London* and mine back to back, and cut their throats, after they had traded with them a whole month, and came to them a shore; having not so much as a sword, or any other weapon, among them all, and if the Spaniards to our complaints made answer, that there was nothing in the treate against our trading in the Indies, but that we might trade at our perill; I trust in God that the word perill shall ever be construed to be indifferent to both Nations; otherwise we must for ever abandon the Indies, and loose all our knowledge, and our Pylotage of that part of the world: if we have no other peace then this; how can there be a breach of peace, which e're the Spaniards with all Nations, and all Nations with them may trade upon their guard?

The readiest way that the Spaniards

ards Ambaſſadour could have taken, to have ſtayed me from going to *Guiana*; had bin to have diſcovered the great practiſes which I had with his Maſter againſt the King my Soveraigne Lord in the firſt yeare of his Majeſties Reigne of Great *Brittaine*, for which I loſt my eſtate and lay thirteene years in the Tower of *London*, and not to urge my offences in *Guiana*; to which his Maſter hath no title other then his ſword, is with which to this day, he hath not conquered the leaſt of theſe Nations, and againſt whom contrary to the Catholick profeſſion, his Captains have entertained, and doe entertaine whole Nations of Canniballs; for in a Letter of the Governours to the King of *Spaine* of the eighth of *July*: he not only complaineth that the *Guianians* are in Armes againſt him, but that ever thoſe Indians which under their noſes live, doe in deſpight of all the Kings edicts

trade

trade with *Los Flamnicos & Engleses, enemicos*, With the Flemish, and English enemies, never once naming the English Nations but with the Epitheton of an enemy.

But in truth the Spanish Ambassadour hath complained against me to no other end, then to prevent my complaints against the Spaniards. Who landing my men in a territory appertaining to the Crowne of *England*; they were invaded and slaine before any violence offered to the Spaniards; and I hope that the Ambassadour doth not esteeme us for so wretched and miserable a people, as to offer our throats to their swords without any manner of resistance; howsoever, I have said it already, and I will say it againe; that if *Guiana* be not his Majesties, the working of a Myne there; and the taking of a towne there; had been equally perillous, for by doing the one, I had rob'd the King of *Spaine* and

and bin a thiefe; and by the other a disturber or breaker of the peace.

A Letter of Sir WALTER RAWLEIGH *to my Lord* Carevv *touching* Guiana.

BEcauſe I know not whether I ſhall live, to come before the Lords, I have for his Majeſties ſatisfaction here ſet downe as much as I can ſay, either for mine owne defence, or againſt my ſelfe, as things are now conſtrued.

It is true, that though I acquainted his Majeſty with my intent to Land in *Guiana*, yet I never made it knowne to his Majeſty that the Spaniards had any footing there; neither had I any authority by Patent, to remove them from thence, and therefore his Majeſty had no intereſt in the attempt of Saint *Thome* by any foreknowledge in his Majeſty. But

But knowing his Majesties title to the Country to be best, and most Christian, because the naturall Lords did most willingly acknowledge Queene *Elizabeth* to be their Soveraigne, who by me promised to defend them from the Spanish cruelty, I made no doubt but I might enter the Land by force, seeing the Spaniards had no other title but force, (the Popes donation excepted) considering also that they had got a possession there divers yeares since my possession for the Crowne of *England*, for were not *Guiana* his Majesties, then might I aswell have bin questioned for a thiefe, for taking the Gold out of the King of *Spains* Mynes, as the Spaniards doe now call me a peace breaker; for, from any territory that belongs to the King of *Spaine*, it is no more lawfull to take Gold, then lawfull for the Spaniards to take Tinne out of *Cornewall*, were this possession of theirs a sufficient Bar to his

his Majesties Right, the Kings of *Spain* may as well call themselves Dukes of *Brittaine*, because they held *Blewet*, and fortified there; and Kings of *Ireland* because they possessed *Smereck* and fortified there, and so in other places.

That his Majesty was well resolved of his right there, I make no kind of doubt, because the English both under Master *Charls Leigh* and Master *Harecourt* had leave to plant and inhabite the Country.

The *Orrenoque* it selfe, had long ere this had 5000. English in it, I assure my selfe, had not my employment at *Cales*, the next yeare after my returne from *Guiana*, and after that our journy to the Islands hindered me, for those two years after with *Tirones* Rebellion, made her Majesty unwilling that any great number of Ships or men should be taken out of *England*, till that rebellion were ended, and lastly, her Majesties death, my long imprison-

ment

ment gave time to the Spaniards to ſet up a towne of ſticks covered with leaves of trees upon the banke of *Orronoque*, which they call St. *Thome*, but they have neither reconciled nor Conquered any of the Caſſiques or naturall Lords of the Country, which Caſſiques are ſtill in armes againſt them, as by the Governours Letter to the King of *Spaine*, may appeare: That by landing in *Guiana* there can be any breach of peace, I thinke it (under favour) impoſſible, for to breake peace where there is no peace, it cannot be, that the Spaniards give us no peace there, it doth appeare by the Kings Letters to the Governour, that they ſhould put to death all thoſe Spaniards and Indians that trade, *Con los Engleſes Enemigos* with Engliſh enemies: yea thoſe very Spaniards which we encountred at St. *Thome*, did of late years murther ſix and thirty of Maſter *Hales* men of *London*, and mine, who landed

landed without weapon, upon the Spaniards faith to trade with them, Maſter *Thorne* alſo in *Tower-ſtreet* in *London* beſides many other Engliſh were in like ſort murthered in *Orrenoque*, the yeare before my deliverie out of the *Tower*.

Now if this kind of trade be peaceable, there is then a peaceable trade in the Indies, betweene us and the Spaniards, but if this be cruell Warre and hatred, and no peace, then there is no peace broken by our attempt; Againe, how doth it ſtand with the greatneſſe of the King of *Spaine*, firſt to call us enemies, when he did hope to cut us in pieces, and then having failed, to call us peace breakers: for to be an enemy and a peace breaker in one and the ſame action is impoſſible.

But the King of *Spaine* in his Letters to the Governour of *Guiana*, dated at *Madrill* the 29 of *March*, before we left the *Thames*, calls us *Engleſes enemigos*

migos, Engliſh enemies.

If it had pleaſed the King of *Spaine* to have written to his Majeſt. in ſeaven months time, for we were ſo long in preparing, and have made his Majeſty know, that our landing in *Guiana* would draw after it a breach of peace, I preſume to thinke, that his Majeſty would have ſtaied our enterpriſe for the preſent.

This he might have done with leſſe charge, then to leavy three hundred ſouldiers and tranſport ten pieces of Ordnance from *Portarico*, which ſouldiers added to the Garriſon of St. *Thome*: had they arrived before our comming, had overthrowne all our raw companies, and there would have followed no complaints.

For the maine point of landing neer St. *Thome*, it is true, that we were of opinion, that we muſt have driven the Spaniards out of the towne, before we could paſſe the thick woods upon the

mountaines of the Myne, which I confeſſe I did firſt reſolve upon, but better bethinking my ſelfe, I reſerved the taking of the towne, to the goodneſſe of the Myne, which if they found to be ſo rich, as it might perſwade the leaving of the Garriſon, then to drive the Spaniards thence, but to have burnt was never my intent, neither could they give me any reaſon why they did it, upon their returne I examined the Serjeant-Major and *Keymis* why they followed not my laſt directions for the triall of the Myne before the taking of the towne, and they anſwered me, that although they durſt hardly, goe to the Myne leaving a Garriſon of Spaniards, between them and their Boats, yet they offended their latter directions, and did Land, betweene the towne and the Myne.

And that the Spaniards without any manner of parley ſet upon them unawares, and charged them, calling them

Perros

Perros Ingleſes, & by Skirmiſhing with them, they drew them on to the very entrance of the town before they knew where they were, ſo that if any peace had bin in thoſe parts, the Spaniards firſt brake the peace, and made the firſt ſlaughter, for as the Engliſh could not but Land to ſeeke the Myne, being come thither to that end, ſo being firſt reviled, and charged by the Spaniards, they could doe no leſſe then repell force by force; laſtly it is a matter of no ſmall conſequence to acknowledge that wee have offended the King of *Spaine* by landing in *Guiana*.

For firſt it weakens his Majeſties title to the Country or quits it; Secondly, there is no King that hath ever given the leaſt way to any other King or State in the traffick of the lives or goods of his Subjects, to wit in our caſe, that it ſhall be lawfull for the Spaniards to murther us, either by force or treaſon, and unlawfull for us to

defend our ſelves and pay them with their owne Coyne, for this ſuperiority and inferiority is a thing which no abſolute Monarch ever yeilded to, or ever will.

Thirdly, it ſhews the Engliſh beare greater reſpect to the Spaniard, and is more doubtfull of his forces, then either the French or Dutch is, who daily invade all parts of the Indies with not being queſtioned at their returne, yea at my owne being at *Plimouth*, a French Gentleman called *Flory* went thence with foure ſaile, and three hundred Land men, with Commiſſion to land and burne, and to ſack all places in the Indies that he could maſter, and yet the French King hath married the daughter of *Spaine*.

This is all that I can ſay, other then that I have ſpent my poore eſtate, loſt my ſonne, and my health, and endured as many ſorts of miſeries, as ever man did, in hope to do his Majeſty acceptable

ceptable ſervice; And have not to my underſtanding committed any hoſtile act, other then entrance upon a territory belonging rightly to the Crowne of *England*, where the Engliſh were firſt ſet upon and ſlaine by the uſurping Spaniards, I invaded no other parts of the Indies, pretended by the Spaniards.

I returned into *England* with manifeſt perill of my life, with a purpoſe not to hold my life, with any other then his Majeſties grace, and from which no man, nor any perill could diſſwade me; To that grace, and goodneſſe, and Kinglyneſſe I referre my ſelf, which if it ſhall find that I have not yet ſuffered enough, it yet may pleaſe to adde more affliction to the remainder of a wretched life.

Sir *Walter Rawleigh* his Anſvvet to ſome things at his Death.

I did never receive any direction from my Lord Carew *to make any eſcape, nor did I ever tell* Stukely *any ſuch thing. I did never name my Lord* Hay *and my Lord* Carew *to* Stukeley *in other words or ſence, then to my honourable friends, among other Lords. I did never ſhew unto* Stukely *any Letter, wherein there was* 10000 *named or any one pound, only I told him, that I hoped to procure the payment of his debts in his abſence. I never had Commiſſion from the French King, I never ſaw the French Kings hand or ſeale in my life. I never had any plot or practiſe with the French directly or indirectly, nor with any other Prince or State unknowne to the King. My true intent was to goe to a Myne of Gold in* Guiana

Guiana, *it was not fained, but it is true, that such a Myne there is within three miles of* St. Thome, *I never had in my thought to goe from* Trinidado, *and leave my Companies to come after to the savage Island, as* Hatby Fearne *hath falsly reported. I did not carry with me an hundred pieces, I had with me sixty, and brought back neer the said number, I never spake to the French* Manering *any one disloyall word, or dishonourable speech of the King; nay if I had not loved the King truly, and trusted in his goodnesse somewhat too much, I know that I had not now suffered death.*

These things are most true as there is a God, and as I am now to appeare before his tribunall seate, where I renounce all mercy, and salvation if this be not the truth. At my death

W. R.

FINIS.